596
[591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a child-
596 less man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A
[563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a
[428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has
[562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother
[586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from
428

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163]

3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 362 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But 837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof [347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

443 562 Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

768 736 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

562 593 The position of women is higher and the esteem in which they are held is greater than among most other East African Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the [462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife [264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex- 562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded [644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition? Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these informants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts. Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

173 643 766 778 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was. It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grand-mother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say, those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him. [562]

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

562 Despite this disadvantage, the position of the woman in Ruanda must be regarded as relatively good. True, she does bear the burden of the housework and field work, at least in the poorer households, but the husband helps her with the field work in emergencies and always does all the heavy work. It is his duty to clear brush, build huts and storehouses, and help with the hoeing.

The well-to-do women spend their time at handiwork, such as making small, artistic baskets. It is said that while doing this work they consume large quantities of beer. They spend the day in the kagondo, the women's house, and, therefore, one has little opportunity to see Batutsi women. If you arrive unexpectedly in a compound, you see nothing but a few figures in flight, whom you can recognize as women by the rings on their legs (butega).

While the expedition was in Nyanza, Dr. Schubotz tried in vain to get Musinga's permission to photograph his wives. Musinga made promises but did not keep them.

There were, in fact, no women to be seen in Nyanza. During the entire three weeks of my stay, I met only two not very young women on the last day.

In Ruanda one often hears complaints about the dominance of women. The farmers especially complain about the wives of their chiefs who are said to be very disagreeable, above all when their husbands are away. A couple of times I heard about Bahutu who were beaten with sticks and badly wounded by Batutsi women.

It is as a mother that the woman takes on an important and esteemed position. The best example of this is the influence enjoyed by the queen mother. A king's son who has lost his mother can not ascend the throne. Sterile women are despised, and the only attention paid to unmarried women is that they can be married off, that is to say, sold, so that connections with other families may be established.

581 [219] Marriage. Marriage does not have the same social significance in all parts of Ruanda, but throughout the country a man can improve his status through marriage and even more so through the marriage of his children.

In the northern part of Ruanda, however, where the Bahutu are still almost entirely free, marriage is a political act of

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
582 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

578 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

-614 262 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 859 562 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 614 784 The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 784 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igikeli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion.

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi informants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty. Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole, Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

[853] There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 [594] The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands.

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked.

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Instut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privileges of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical.

562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564] and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565 woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi*?—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

• • •

The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past, there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with
[591] their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home",
she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater
authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters,
of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and
serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and
inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except
for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi
at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior
is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics.
Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the
likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided
the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu
and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of
her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that
of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relation-
ship, and find his way as well as he can through the social
labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex varia-
578 tions in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society
and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce
competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the
social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth
and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and
power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more
bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among
Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats
quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the
desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as
bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that
[165] women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 776 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked by *Imana*.

564 583 [556] [178] The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman, [554] [556] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 585 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough [538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise- [533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated [152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 [593] Every married woman of every class and caste works for her husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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Hutu

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562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields. 564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman 241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must [251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the 517 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her 512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning, 564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313] neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw 415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her 482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on [356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than [574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to 564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the 543 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

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603 554 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are [769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 829 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

[562] There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtaining at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

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554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
● 562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her
593 wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[46] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

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displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

[1] *Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."